and larger confederations of kinship groups are articulated with a similar phraseology. The Kurdish tribe, which has not been extensively discussed, represents in large part [121] [423] [422] [428] [174] [423] [566] ● [619]
such a unit. The lands of the tribe, agricultural or pastoral, are the property of kinship groups, extended patrilineal families, as are the flocks and herds, and an individual cannot alienate them in quantity without difficulty. Chieftainship is hereditary, commonly with the democratic approval of the men of the tribe. Some chieftains are undistinguished from their tribesmen save in the size of their families' holdings, and others receive a customary share of the annual produce. The Kurdish tribe, then, is traditionally an alliance of extended patrilineal families, sometimes with the fiction of a common ancestor, and membership in the tribe depends on membership in the family, a matter of "blood" descent. Tribal life is directed by the chieftain, and the murder of a member or the theft of property by an outsider is never permitted to go unavenged.

Feudalism, an arrangement different than that of the tribe, requires no redefinition here. It is a personal exchange of duties between landlord and tenant, and is not represented in the Rowanduz district by the nomads whose society is exclusively tribal. It seems to have arisen in two ways, in the first of which the chieftains of nomadic groups took agricultural villages under their protection. One might remark again that the nomad, because of his mobility and firepower, has a military advantage over the villager. In the second, some powerful families, by the

gradual increase of their holdings, have reached a position of dominance over their neighbors. In Kurdish feudalism the chieftain "owns" the lands of his tenants and levies a yearly tax. The terminology of feudalism, however, is that of the tribe, and, as has been noticed, a Nestorian Christian tenant may be spoken of as "belonging" to this or that chieftain's tribe and wear its traditional garb. The two systems, the tribal which is primitive in character and the feudal which is based on individual ownership of land but which is also pseudo-primitive, are interwined in the Rowanduz district. There are men who are the leaders of tribes, others who are feudal landlords, and still others who are both. The aristocracy is undifferentiated in terms of the tribal or feudal systems, using the same titles, and is based on noble descent. The relationship between the chieftain and the tribesman or tenant is always in personal terms. Just as in the case of the tribe, the feudal landlord is expected to direct the life of his tenants and to avenge them. The commoners identify their honor with that of their chieftains and are glad to give up a share of their produce, for they partake of the prestige of their superiors. Although there is no structural deterrent, the mixture of tribal and feudal systems in Kurdish Iraq is normally decentralized, segmented into hundreds of groups whose relations with one another are not always amicable. Lastly, with the exception of the Nestorian Christians, the chieftains and commoners belong to the same ethnic unit and are qualitatively undifferentiated

with respect to culture. Feudalism, while it may not be "primitive," is here mixed with a primitive, tribal system and uses its terminology. 423 566 [563]

In civilized society, in contrast to primitive, membership is not held to be based on descent but on residence and property relations, and this form of society is represented by the state. This does not mean that the state does not use the primitive terminology, for, out of numerous examples, one might remember the insistence of the National Socialist government of Germany prior to the second World War on "blood" and "race." Of greater importance, the state has a different system of economy, because, depending on its constitution, it defines its resources as its own, as the personal property of its citizens, or both. The state in this sense is not a newcomer to Iraq, inasmuch as some of the earliest examples known in history were developed there, but, at least for some centuries, it has been a stranger to Kurdistan. It has been seen how, in the Rowanduz area, it has taken a large part in the administration of life. Youths are recruited to the army, not to the following of a chieftain, and the military forces and the police have the task of regulating public order. Matters of civil and criminal law are decided in its courts, and the important matters of inheritance, marriage, and divorce require its authorization. Students may, if they are able, study in its schools and the sick can avail themselves of its medical facilities. Perhaps more importantly, it has insisted on the classification of land, holdings belonging [423] 121 65

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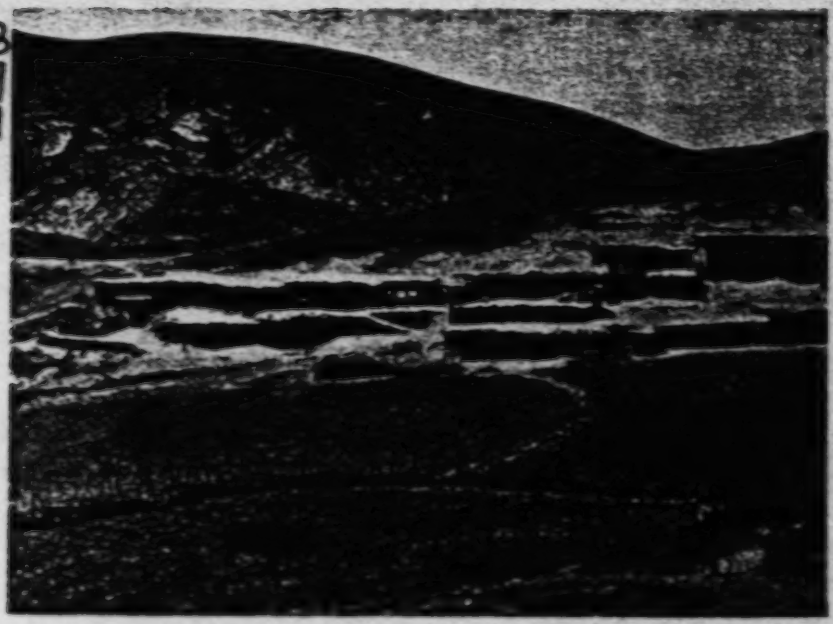

Fig. 12. The tobacco field is ploughed with oxen. Topuzawa.

So far as I could discover the
Tobacco is not fermented. Pulverized Tobacco cannot be used for
276 cigarettes, but is poured by hand into cigarette-sized paper tubes ending in a cardboard cylinder. These paper tubes, inserted in each other and collected in large packets, are purchased at the *dîş* in the town. They are placed in vertical groups on metal trays. The filling of the paper casings with pulverized tobacco is women's work. (Tobacco sample: E. 2245).

562 Women's world, like men's, is subject to the social structure of the village.

The villages I had an opportunity of visiting belonged to an *āgā*[tr] or *aşiret*[tr]. He had no need to live in the village, for he could, for example, have resided in Sulaimani on the Iranian plain[tr]. Incidentally the owner of a village could be a woman managing the property for a son who had not reached his majority, as was the case with Lady Adile's daughter-in-law, who at the time I met her was living at Sulaimani. It was said that she owned "many villages and watermills". If the owner of a village did not dwell on his property he had in the village, according to Leach[tr], a manager "kokha", to represent him. A village owner could be of the same family as his tenants or farmers, in which event relations were purely tribal. In cases I was able to investigate in Topuzawa, Rakawa, Bargalo and Serkan the sheikhs were not related to the inhabitants and conditions were feudal. The

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[540]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 13. Village houses built up the slope. Tepeuren.

owner of the village leased the ground to his farmers and some could sell, move away or move in without his sanction[9]. Tenants owned their cattle, their implements and the only part of the house construction that was of value, the big poplar trunks that were used as rafters.

According to information obtained through my interpreter, tenants handed over 50% of the tobacco crop and 10% of all other crops, besides ploughing, harvesting and threshing for the village owner[10]. On another occasion the interpreter gave the amount as 30% of both wheat and tobacco. However this information must be taken with reserve. Edmonds[10] gives 10% of the winter crop—wheat and barley—plus fees for grazing, butter and eggs. Leach[11] states 50% if the tenant himself supplies the seeds and possesses agricultural implements, but 75% if the owner of the village has to supply them.

During the British mandate period, 1918–1932, the Land Settlement Commission was established to "a court of claims relating to questions of land tenure" in connection with a "comprehensive program" of surveying for the purpose of covering systematically all cultivated land and finally "settle and register proprietary rights"[12]. A representative of this commission held a meeting with farmers in the sheikh's courtyard at Berkan during my stay there.

square yard of uncultivated ground around the town is used for this game. Those who cannot find space in other parts run up and down the streets playing football.

The social system of the Kurds is essentially feudal. Up to recent times no man could prosper or even feel safe unless under the protection of a powerful agha, whose armed retainers guarded the *miskin* (serfs) from any who might attempt to tyrannize the village. In return for this the agha exercised an overlordship, collecting a percentage of the crops, a fee for marriages, and other taxes. He called out the villagers to fight an enemy when required, and was generally in the position of a feudal baron of ancient England.

An agha used his family as the basis of his power. He produced as many sons as possible, who would be loyal to him in an extremity, and put each in charge of a village, or group of villages, to unite them in the common cause when necessary. If sufficiently powerful he might bring other villages under his control by the simple expedient of annexing them from less powerful protectors. Thus in many Kurdish tribes there is no blood relationship between the aghas and the miskēn, but the aghas are of a common descent.

Another important feature in the social system is the shaikhs. Among the Arabs the term 'shaikh' signifies a tribal chief but in Kurdistan a shaikh is a holy man. Certain shaikhly families have acquired the title because they claim descent from the Prophet Mohammed, in which case it corresponds to the title of *sayyid* among other Mohammedan peoples; other shaikhs are holy men, but do not claim such ancestry. Not unnaturally the former class is the more influential and powerful.

It is unfortunate that a number of the shaikhs have not contented themselves with the religious welfare of the people. Like the priestly class throughout the world, they have at times used religious influence to increase material power, and become analogous to powerful tribal

[p 392 (c)]